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A
CONCISE, HISTORICAL VIEW
OF THE
DIFFICULTIES, HARDSHIPS,
AND
P E R I L S
Which attended the
PLANTING and progressive IMPROVEMENTS
O F
NEW - E N G L A N D.

W I T H

A particular Account of its long and Destructive
Wars, Expensive Expeditions, &c.

By AMOS ADAMS, A. M.

Pastor of the First Church of Roxbury.

Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,

Genus unde latinum.

Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

VIRG.

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Concise, Historical View
OF THE
DIFFICULTIES, HARDSHIPS,
AND
P-E-R-I-L-S

Which attended the
PLANTING and RESIDENCE IN THE
WEST
INDIES



By James Adams, A.M.
Author of the History of the
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A

CONCISE HISTORY
OF
NEW-ENGLAND, &c.

THE whole continent of America was, to the antients, an unknown land. It is not quite 300 years since the first discovery was made of this part of the world;* the Spaniards began their settlements, and the conquest of the vast kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, about an hundred years before our fathers came into this country.† It is not certain that ever any European was at New-England
A before

* Columbus made the first discovery of America 1492.

† Cortes sailed from Spain 1518, and the next year began the conquest of Mexico.

before the year 1602. Some feeble attempts were made to effect a settlement, in several parts of this country, but none succeeded until the year 1620 ; when the adventurers landed at Plymouth, and began a settlement there, which may fitly be called the beginning of New-England. No considerable additions were made to the planters, until the distressing times in England led many worthy and serious persons to seek a quiet habitation, in these desolate parts of the earth.

It is a truth, impossible to be denied, that the spiritual tyranny, under which our fathers groaned, and their being prohibited the worship of God, according to the light of their own consciences, and the sacred oracles, was the cause of their leaving their native country, to plant themselves in this then howling wilderness. It was this abridgment of the rights of conscience that began, and mightily assisted in, the settlement of this country. The oppression under which a valuable part of the nation groaned, has, in the hand of consummate wisdom, proved, in its consequences,

sequences, a great blessing to the world, and the occasion of a vast addition to the British empire.

A few years after the settlement of New-England began, the troubles in England were greatly increased, and arbitrary measures were driven on, both in church and state. Archbishop Laud, and the ruling ecclesiastics of that day, forced a multitude of conscientious puritans from their country. After some fruitless attempts had been made to form settlements in other places, in the year 1629 a considerable number of persons (350) seated themselves at Salem, and established a church there. The next year John Winthrop, and Thomas Dudley, Esqrs; afterwards governors of the colony, and several gentlemen of distinction, with divers worthy ministers, and above 200 passengers arrived in this bay, began their settlements, and founded churches: and by a continual accession to their numbers, and the arrival of parties from divers places in England, in the space of seven years, there were not only settlements begun, and churches

churches erected, in Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Cambridge, and Watertown, but, in that time, great numbers had emigrated as far as the fertile banks of Connecticut river, and planted the now populous and flourishing towns of Springfield, Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield: and, by the coming over of new inhabitants, the foundations were soon laid of the antient colonies of New-Haven and Connecticut, since formed into one.

But what I design is not to give you an history of the progressive improvements of the country, so much as to point out the hardships they surmounted, and the enemies out of whose hand God had delivered them.

It is impossible to describe the difficulties, straits, hardships and perils which attend the settlement of a new country; especially, at the distance of a thousand leagues from a civilized people. It must, in the first place, have been a most affectionate parting, that they had with their native country, their houses
and

and lands, their friends and relatives, whom they were forsaking without any prospect of ever meeting again in this world. The thought of venturing over an extended ocean, then very much unknown, must have been terrible to persons that never went to sea, and, especially, to women of tender minds. The prospect of venturing on an unknown and barbarous shore, to the first adventurers, must have been quite perplexing. But when all the trials and difficulties were passed through, it was in hunger and cold, in peril and fear, that they began and prosecuted their settlements. It is impossible for us to conceive what many suffered by the fatigues of a long voyage, by cold and famine, in a desolate country, where they were immediately exposed to the severities of a rigid climate, without any convenient habitations to cover them. The hardships they underwent brought many to their graves, within a few months after their arrival. Of the first 350 who arrived at Salem, not less than 100 died the following winter, of diseases, principally brought upon

upon them by the hardships they endured. Of the people who first arrived at Plymouth, two or three months swept half of them into the grave. Truly, we cannot but admire the hand of God, that supported and animated them under these trials. Their principal comfort was, that, with all the distresses of a new country, they found themselves out of the reach of prelatical tyranny, and could enjoy God in his ordinances.

America, when first discovered, was found, in every part of it, inhabited by a savage swarthy people. The learned have been much puzzled to determine the original of the natives of this vast continent. Some have conjectured they were originally Tartars, who found a northern path into America; and some that they are the descendants of the ten tribes, carried into captivity by Salmaneser, and planted in the northern * kingdoms of Asia. Others derive their origin from the ancient Phenicians, who are famed for their early skill in navigation, and certainly sent forth colonies

* 2 Kings xviii. 11.

lonies in very early ages. Others, and perhaps with greater probability, suppose that they were at different times and on various occasions, either accidentally, or by design, transplanted from various parts of the other continent; but when and how no man can tell. After all our enquiries, their origin is quite problematical. However, this is certain, they must have been here many ages; for we find them scattered throughout every part of North and South America: They inhabited, not only the sea-coasts, but also the vast inland country. The Spaniards found millions of Indians in the countries they conquered; and the extensive kingdoms of Peru, and Mexico seem to have had the marks of considerable antiquity. Our fathers, upon their arrival in this country, found every part of it was, or had been, peopled with tribes of Indians, who could give no account of their original. One thing is very remarkable in the dispensation of Providence: A few years before the arrival of the people at Plymouth, there is no doubt but God was pleased to send

send a dreadful sickness among the natives, who were then very numerous, and probably would have bestirred themselves to hinder strangers from making settlements in their country. By this visitation, it is said, great numbers were swept off, and some whole tribes became in a manner extinct. The Massachusetts tribe, particularly, are said to have been reduced from thirty thousand, to three hundred fighting men. Some say nine tenths of the barbarians, through the country, were swept off, and the land was, in a manner, depopulated. Some have conjectured, because the small-pox has proved so mortal to Indians, that this was the distemper which depopulated the country; but the Indians give an account of the disease, that does not so well agree to the small pox. According to them, it was a pestilential putrid fever. Some, think it was the plague, and tell us the savages shewed those scars which proved it to be the plague. But whatever the distemper was, it was a wonderful providence thus to prepare the way for our father.

At

At the beginning of these settlements, Heaven was pleased wonderfully to lay restraints upon the remaining savages, so that the Europeans gained a peaceable settlement among them. And lest, after all, the savages should prove too hard for them, in 1633, the small-pox made dreadful havock among them, and swept away almost whole plantations of Indians. This farther conduced to the safety of the people, and, probably, hindered the plotting of the natives to destroy their new neighbours.

It was not long, however, after their arrival, that our fathers found the savages, with strong professions of friendship, conspiring, in one place and another, to cut them off. In the first year after their arrival in this colony, when a mortal sickness was daily lessening their numbers, when there was not corn enough to feed them a fortnight, they were alarmed with the news of a general conspiracy of the Indians to extirpate the English. Only two years after (in 1632) a conspiracy of the eastern Indians to cut off our

settlements, was discovered, and by a stratagem prevented. The same year the whole plantation was under fearful apprehensions of being driven off by the French, by order of Cardinal Richlieu, which put them on providing for their defence. And it was nothing but the want of union among themselves that restrained the savages from breaking up all our settlements, which were in general utterly defenceless.

The first open war with the savages, was what is called the Pequod war in 1637. The tribe of that name was settled in Connecticut colony, and was very mischievous to the English, falling upon them in the fields and in their journies, committing several murders among them. The several English plantations found it necessary, for their own defence, to carry on a war with this tribe, with their united force. This war was carried into the Pequod country, where their garrisons were destroyed, and their houses burnt; 700 of that tribe were killed or taken prisoners, with very little loss on the

the side of the English : in short, the whole nation was in a few months totally extirpated, and this destruction struck such a terror into the other tribes, that they came and begged for peace, and the land had rest for near forty years.

During the seven first years from the settlement of the Massachusetts-Bay, there was a great flocking into the country, so that not less than 4000 planters had fixed themselves up and down in the country, and laid the foundation of many flourishing towns and villages in New-England. Above seventy ministers accompanied them, generally, learned and pious divines : about forty churches were gathered, and the foundation of that school of the prophets was laid, which by its annual streams hath made glad the city of our God---the wilderness began to be subdued, orchards were planted, and laws were enacted for the government of the infant state.

But, even in its infant state, New-England was not without its enemies *at home*, as well as in its own bosom. Archbishop

Laud, the grand enemy of civil and religious liberty, while he was persecuting good men at home, kept a jealous eye upon New-England; and employed enemies, false brethren secreted among themselves, to give notice of every thing that passed; especially of what might be improved to the disadvantage of the colony. He envied the puritans an asylum in these parts of the earth, and was plotting their ruin.

As early as 1637, he procured an order of court to prohibit the exportation of inhabitants to New-England, at which time such great men as Pym, Hampden, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Oliver Cromwel, afterwards lord protector of England, were prevented from settling themselves in this land. God in his providence reserved them for more important services in their own country. And after all the calumny and reproach, which have been cast on their memories for more than a century of years, the world is obliged to acknowledge their greatness, and that to them the nation owes the important liberties it has

has since enjoyed.---After the breaking out of the civil war, the cause of exile was, in a manner, taken away; the accession of inhabitants greatly ceased, and some returned back to their native country, until the restoration of Charles II. when the persecution against protestant dissenters was renewed with greater vigour than ever.

In 1642, there was a general design among the Indians to cut off the English inhabitants. They were to go, under pretence of trade, in small parties to the English houses, and, while some secured the arms, others were to perpetrate the dreadful massacre. This horrid conspiracy was discovered by some of the Indians themselves. The discovery caused a dreadful consternation: but, by the extraordinary pains taken by the inhabitants to prevent any surprize, the savages were discouraged from their bloody attempt.

In 1653, a general alarm was spread through the colonies, by the information given from several quarters, that the Dutch were privately soliciting the Indians

ans to a general confederacy, in order totally to extirpate the English. But the discovery of the plot was, probably, the means of preventing its execution.

For the space of near forty years, from the Pequod war, though New-England was sometimes alarmed and put into great consternation, yet, in general, the country had rest, and there was, during this time, a surprizing increase of inhabitants; until the breaking out of that, which is commonly called Philip's war, because it was begun and carried on by an Indian prince of that name, a mortal enemy to the English. He resolved on nothing less than their total destruction. For this purpose he invited all the barbarous tribes to join him, furnished them with arms, and suddenly began the most distressing war that ever New-England felt. This war "endangered the very being of the colony, and it was a question with some, whether the Indians would not prevail to a total extirpation of the English inhabitants."* Several years

* Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson's History of the Massachusetts, vol. 1. p. 275.

years were spent by the natives in preparations for a vigorous war, and it was, probably, owing to its being accidentally begun, before they were, in general, prepared, that they did not accomplish the great undertaking.

In 1675, June 24, the war began, by an attack on the town of Swanzeey, and the murder of several of the inhabitants. The troops of the colony engaged, and were overpowered by numbers. Soon after which, Mendon and Brookfield were attacked, and divers places on Connecticut river.† The whole Massachusetts colony was in the utmost consternation, many places, in different parts of the colony, being attacked, almost at the same time; houses burnt, and the people slain. The brave distressed inhabitants frequently engaged the enemy, but were generally overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retreat with loss. It was at this time Capt. Lothrop, with his whole company, save seven or eight, consisting of eighty young men, belonging to the county of Essex,

† Hadley, Hatfield, Windsor.

Essex, were cut off, in an engagement with seven or eight hundred Indians between Deerfield and Hatfield. This was a heavy stroke on the country to which they belonged.

These depredations of the enemy united the Colonies in an expedition against a strong fortress of the savages, in the Narragansett-country. It was attacked December 16th by a thousand men, taken and destroyed after an obstinate resistance, in which five or six hundred Indian houses were burnt, and, in many of them, the women and children perished. Some of the enemy confessed they lost 700 fighting men that day, besides 300 more, who died of the wounds they received, or the hardships they underwent. This battle proved bloody, and cost the Colonies the lives of six brave captains,* and eighty-five private men. The number of killed and wounded was about 170; and the whole army was in the utmost danger of perishing.

* Johnson, Davenport, Gardiner, Gallop, Siely, and Marshall.

perishing, in their retreat, through hunger and cold.

It was hoped, that such a signal defeat would have cooled the courage of the remaining savages, and disposed them to peace. But the event was quite otherwise. The barbarians, reduced to an almost desperate condition by cold and famine, and instigated by Philip, took the first opportunity of joining their forces, and, being encouraged by the French governor of Canada, early on the following spring (1676) they made a furious onset upon divers places, † burning some towns wholly to the ground, others in part; killing multitudes of the distressed inhabitants, and spreading universal consternation. It was about this time Capt. Pierce was drawn into an ambushment and slain, with his whole company of fif-

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† Feb. 10. Lancaster burnt, forty persons killed and captivated---Marlborough, Sudbury and Chelmsford, attacked about the same time. Feb. 21. Medfield attacked; half the town burnt, and eighteen killed.---In March, Northampton, Springfield, Groton, Sudbury, Marlborough, Warwick, Providence, Plymouth and Rehoboth, suffered.

ty English, and several Indians ; and Capt. Wadsworth, marching to relieve Sudbury, was cut off with a company of fifty men : The place is shewn to this day, where they lie buried in one grave. Many persons were taken by the savages, and some put to death with torments too dreadful to be named.

At the time that these western parts of the Colony endured the miseries of a bloody war, the eastern country, which before this time had considerable settlements, was groaning under the same calamity. All the country, eastward of Wells, was destroyed by fire and sword. Such was the deplorable situation of our country at that day, that the words of the Prophet were peculiarly applicable to our land, “ the Syrians before and the Philistines behind, and they shall devour Israel with open mouth.” †

This was an awful season indeed---our fathers saw their country invaded on every side : scarce any plantation was out of danger. Look which way they would,
the

† Isai. ix. 12.

the smoke of their country ascended up, as the smoke of a great furnace. Men, women, and helpless babes, fell a sacrifice to barbarian cruelty. Great numbers of the bravest men in these infant plantations fell in battle. The enemy had signal advantages against them. No sooner had they made their unexpected onsets, but they retired into woods and mountains, where it was impossible to follow, or overtake them. Hitherto the enemy had been generally victorious---A darker and more dreadful cloud never overspread New-England. No man thought his life secure: nothing was talked of but fire and sword. All sorts of men put on sackcloth, and lay in ashes, and day after day was spent in fasting and prayer. The triumphing of the heathen however was but short. Our troops, in several bloody encounters, were victorious. The enemy were pursued to their lurking places, multitudes of them were put to the sword, great numbers were taken prisoners.---The death of Philip, who was slain by an Indian that deserted from him, together with the losses

they had sustained, and their distress for want of provisions and ammunition, quite disheartened the savages, and several tribes begged for peace : so that, in two years, this bloody war was brought to a period ; which, tho' for a time so formidable to our fathers, yet, through the good providence of God, broke the power of the savage tribes, and the natives were never able to recover themselves.

Thus ended this distressing war, which once threatned the total destruction of the Colony. These were not indeed such mighty battles as we read of in history, nor such as have since determined the fate of America ; but they were the struggles of an infant colony.---Many brave men---many brave young men, expired in this distressing war ; their names deserve to be had in perpetual remembrance.

But what pity ! what relief had our fathers from the mother country, under all these distressing calamities ! Was the royal ear open to their complaints ? Was any kind of relief afforded, at a time when the savages awfully threatned their total destruction ?

struction? Were troops, or ships, or money sent to their relief?---No---“ If they cried, there was none to hear.” The heart of a licentious prince was hardened to all their distresses; his ears were shut to their cries, but open enough to the vile and malevolent misrepresentations of their worst enemies. On the very year when the colonists were contesting with the natives the possession of the country, at the time when they struggled hard to preserve their footing in New-England, complaints were sustained, and a prosecution set on foot against them, which at length issued in the loss of all the privileges of the royal charter.

The royal charter, which encouraged our fathers to settle themselves in this country, gave them to expect civil and religious liberty in a greater degree, than their fellow subjects then enjoyed in England. The country was claimed by the crown of England *only* by right of discovery. To encourage the settlement, an incorporation was thought necessary, but was purchased of the crown, at the expence

pence of two thousand pounds sterling. Notwithstanding, it was no longer than the next year after the arrival of the people in this bay, in 1631, that there was an attempt to vacate it; but it happily proved unsuccessful. And again, four years afterwards, 1635, the charter was attempted, but still the attempt proved abortive. In 1638, there was a formal demand of the charter to be given up, and a judgment was obtained, that the liberties of the corporation should be seized into the king's hands. But through the goodness of God, the execution was never completed: the change of times in Old England saved the privileges of New England. At the restoration of king Charles 1660, the enemies of our liberties roused themselves, and laid heavy and grievous complaints against the colony, in order to have their privileges taken away. Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians, united in preferring their complaints; but God stirred up the hearts of several great men,* friends to the colony,

* The Earl of Manchester, Lord Bay, and Secretary Morrice.

lony, and of good principles, to interest themselves in the cause, and this attempt also proved abortive. From the restoration the colony never stood well with the court. The principal persons *here*, in church and state, were never without fearful apprehensions of having their invaluable privileges taken from them. In 1665, commissioners were sent over with very large and unconstitutional powers, and an infraction was thereby made upon the charter-rights of the colony. Four gentlemen * were named in the royal commission, some of them the professed enemies of New-England, vested with such extraordinary powers, as were calculated to subvert all law and justice, and such, as subjected the people to their arbitrary will and pleasure. A loyal petition was prepared and sent to the King, containing a decent and manly assertion of their right to the privileges confirmed to the colony by royal charter, and setting forth the great distress they were in, by being sub-

* Col. Richard Nicholls, George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, Esqrs.

subjected to the arbitrary pleasure of
 strangers, proceeding, not by any establish-
 ed laws, but their own sovereign will; al-
 so declaring, that, if things went on ac-
 cording to their present appearance, they
 must either seek new dwellings, or sink
 under intolerable burdens. Every pru-
 dent measure was taken to prevent the loss
 of the charter. At the same time the ma-
 gistrates, with a decent, and, (considering
 the infant state of the Colony,) an admira-
 ble firmness, withstood the commissioners
 in the exercise of their unconstitutional
 powers. The consequence was, after a
 few years, this arbitrary commission was
 discontinued. But at length, in 1676, " in
 " the height of the distress of the war,
 " and whilst the authority of the Colony
 " was contending with the natives for the
 " possession of the soil, complaints were
 " making in England, which struck at
 " the powers of government; and an en-
 " quiry was set on foot, which was con-
 " tinued from time to time, until it final-
 " ly issued in a quo warranto, and judg-
 " ment

" ment thereupon against the charter." *
 Distressing was the condition of this poor country : while engaged in a bloody and extensive war, instead of the pity and regards of their prince, from whom they justly expected protection and encouragement, they were threatned with the loss of those privileges, which were dear to them as life, and on the hope of which they first left their country, and were bravely defending themselves in a dismal wilderness. †

The grand accuser of the colony was Edward Randolph, ‡ a man of most arbitrary principles, and indefatigable in his endeavours to distress the colony, and set

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* Vid. Gov. Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. vol. i. p. 311.

† " The accounts which were transmitted to England of the distresses of the Colony, during the war, although they might excite compassion in the breasts of some, yet they were improved by others, to render the Colony more obnoxious." Hist. of Mass. vol. i. p. 308.

‡ Randolph made eight voyages to England in nine years; was appointed collector and surveyor of his Majesty's customs; was one of Sir Edmund Andross's council, and was the person that boasted " they were as arbitrary as the great Turk."

up arbitrary government. He was at last "the messenger of death," and arrived in 1683, with powers to demand an absolute resignation of all the liberties of the colony into the royal hands. But before any new form of government could take place, king Charles II. died, and it was not till 1686, that a commission arrived for setting up a new and arbitrary government, by which the house of Deputies was laid aside, and consequently the people were totally deprived of all power in the administration. The powers of government were committed to a chosen council, of which a gentleman of *this place* was appointed president.† Soon after arrived Sir Edmund Andros, with a commission from king James, and a number of assistants, to take upon him the absolute government of all the New-England colonies, with New-York. Thus the people found themselves compleatly stripped of all their privileges, civil and sacred, and subjected to a governour and council, as to the ruling part of them, *entirely*

† Joseph Dudley, Esq;

entirely devoted to the will and pleasure of a popish prince, whose arbitrary measures will be detested, while there are friends to the protestant religion, and the liberties of the nation.

Sir Edmund Andross was supposed to be a bigotted papist. On his arrival, he made high professions of regard to the public good and welfare of the people. But, as one observes, * “ Nero concealed
 “ his tyrannical disposition more years,
 “ than he did months.” All the affairs of government were managed by himself, with four or five of his creatures. The distressed people were soon given to understand, they were not to expect to enjoy the privileges of Englishmen. One of the first acts of their tyranny was, the restraint of the press. Marriage was forbidden, but on certain conditions of their own prescribing. The congregational ministers were considered as meer laymen. “ The people were menaced, that the
 “ meeting-houses should be taken from
 “ them, and, that public worship, in the
 D 2 “ con-

* Gov. Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. vol. I. p. 354.

“ congregational way, should not be tolerated.” But while affairs were thus going on, and the religious liberties of the country were just on the point of being lost, the king’s proclamation for universal toleration put a stop to any farther proceedings.

But still the people saw their civil rights and personal property in the hands of a tyrant.---Swearing by the book was introduced, and such as scrupled it were fined and imprisoned.---Exorbitant and intolerable fees were expected.---The titles to lands were questioned, in order to oblige men to take out new patents, at unreasonable prices.---Estates in some instances were unjustly alienated, and made over to those that had no right to them in law or equity.---Property became every day more and more precarious. Under such a government, no man could call any thing his own. Towns were forbidden, at their peril, to assemble, except once or twice a year. The governour, with four or five, laid taxes on the people, according to his sovereign will, and the officers

cers who refused to assess them, were imprisoned and fined.----The inhabitants were cruelly forbidden to garrison their own houses, in a time of war.---A multitude of lives were lost, in a foolish and fruitless expedition to the eastern frontiers. ---Such were the arbitrary measures pursuing by a set of wretches, who were making their fortunes out of the country's ruin. But the glorious Revolution, which dethroned James, and placed a protestant king and queen on the throne, set New-England at liberty from the cruel oppressions of arbitrary government.

It must be remembered, that while the country was stripped of its invaluable privileges, and groaning under an arbitrary government, they were likewise carrying on a war with the savages, which fell chiefly on the eastern frontiers. This war began in 1687, and lasted ten years; in all which time, our frontiers were harassed, and, every year, more or less destruction was made on our borders. It was during this war, in 1690, that this brave people, who, one would have thought quite

quite disheartened, raised and sent 700 men, who accomplished the reduction of Port-Royal, which was given up seven years after, at the treaty of Ryswick. In the same year an expedition was formed, and carried on, under the command of Sir William Phipps, for the reduction of Canada. The expedition proved unsuccessful, and the consequences of it distressing to the people. A thousand brave young men lost their lives, by a train of disasters in that unfortunate undertaking. Mourning and woe were brought on the country, and a load of debt which proved pernicious both to them and their posterity. *

Liberty is the most ardent wish of a brave and noble people. They bear the yoke with reluctance, and never fail to improve the first opportunity to cast it off. The sacred thirst for liberty brought our fathers hither. They endured the yoke of slavery with great uneasiness. The first hints that William and Mary had ascended the throne, roused them to spirited measures; they seized and imprisoned the instruments

* A paper currency begun at that time,

struments of their oppression, and preferred their humble and earnest solicitations for the restoration of their charter-privileges. After three or four years the present charter was obtained, which, though it enlarges the king's prerogative, and brings us to a nearer dependence on the crown, we nevertheless consider as of inestimable worth. Its privileges we wish, and pray may be transmitted a fair inheritance to our children after us.---

The Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, was a principal agent in obtaining the present charter, and his name will be remembered through many generations.

The arrival of the new charter, in 1692, did not put an end to the distresses of this unhappy people. On its arrival, while some rejoiced at the restoration of many of their former privileges, others mourned bitterly at the abridgment of several important liberties they had enjoyed under the former charter, and form of government. The state of the country was on other accounts greatly distressed.---The sea-coasts were infested with the

the enemies privateers, so that few of our vessels could escape. The inland frontiers, from east to west, were harrassed with enemies, French and Indians.--- The late unsuccessful expedition against Canada had exposed the country to the resentment of France, and brought a distressing load of debt upon the people; and the government were in the utmost perplexity to provide for carrying on the war. And, amidst all, the minds of the people were filled with horror at the breaking out of what is called the Witchcraft; a scene dreadful to be thought on! Many of the people were credulous, and believed all they heard, and the few that believed all was imposture and design, were afraid to reveal their sentiments, lest themselves should be accused; for in that case they saw little probability of escape.

However silly and romantic the stories of witchcraft may appear to us, in this more enlightned age, it is but a few years since they were believed in all the civilized nations of Europe; nay, even in the last century, in the most enlightned parts
of

of Europe, were put to death for supposed witchcraft. The unhappy tragedy, acted by our mistaken fathers, was principally confined to the county of Essex; where the prosecution was carried on for several months, with mistaken zeal and unremitting vigour. The anguish, the horror and consternation of the people were beyond imagination, when their relatives, their friends and neighbours were accused, and imprisoned: Many of them were put on solemn trial for life, and divers condemned and executed. No one could look upon himself as safe: Many fled their country for fear, and before the imposture was discovered, such a shocking tragedy was acted, as is enough to make the ears of every one that heareth to tingle. *Nineteen* persons were condemned and executed for witchcraft. *One* was pressed to death for refusing to plead. *Eight* more lay under the sentence of death. *Fifty* confessed and were pardoned. *One hundred and Fifty* were imprisoned, and *two hundred*, being accused, fled for their lives.*

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* See Hutchinson on witchcraft, p. 58.—In that excellent treatise the reader will find the vulgar notions

May heaven forgive the innocent blood that was shed, and future ages learn wisdom from the mistakes of former times! Rather, much rather, may time draw a dark veil over this scene of delusion!

At this time, and for several successive years, the natives carried on the war upon our eastern and western frontiers; making sudden and unexpected onsets, burning houses, killing and captivating the distressed inhabitants. In 1693, an army of French and Indians attacked Wells, but could not destroy the garrison; tho' they tortured a poor man to death. *

In 1694, the enemy attacked a village in New-Hampshire, † and killed and led captive 100 persons. The same year they assaulted divers places in the eastern parts, ‡ and several persons fell victims to their rage.

In
tions of witchcraft learnedly disproved, the true nature of witchcraft, as spoken of in the law of Moses, clearly opened, with an ingenious account of the witch of Endor.

* John Diamond.

† Oyster-River.

‡ Kittery, Saco, &c.

In 1695, the savages continued their depredations, and committed several murders on the frontiers; and, no farther from home than Billerica, they killed and captivated fifteen persons.

On the next year 1696, the English fort at Pemaquid, the strongest garrison in the eastern country, was taken and demolished. The news created great terror through the country; and it was then expected the enemy would have marched westward, and brought fire and sword into the bowels of our country. Five hundred men were raised and sent to oppose them; but God was pleased to deliver the country, and nothing extraordinary was attempted by the enemy. The inhabitants, all along the frontiers, were obliged to shut themselves up in garrisons, and were greatly hindered from their labours. The Indians were every where upon the watch, and when an opportunity presented, seized or killed those that ventured abroad.---We, who now sit every one under his own vine and fig-tree, and have none to make us afraid, can hardly imagine the distressed

situation of families, every hour in peril of their lives ; continually alarmed with the outrages of savages, and the relations of murders committed in one place and another.

In 1697, we were threatned with a powerful invasion from France.---The French king had his heart much set on this expedition. A large fleet was ordered to sail from the ports of France, as early in the year as possible, to attack Boston. A numerous army from Canada was destined to join the fleet, on the eastern frontiers : The army was ready to march at a few days warning. The fleet actually sailed from France, and arrived in America. The designed invasion was known in the country, and every day expected, for several weeks together. A report was spread in Boston, that a formidable fleet had been seen on the coast. The inhabitants, were put into consternation and amazement, and there were no hopes of a British fleet to assist them. The best preparations were made however, by a brave and distressed people, to receive

receive their enemies.---The militia was held in readiness to march to the sea-coasts, and their principal fortresses were put into the best posture of defence. The alarm continued for several weeks, all which time, they daily expected to be attacked. But Heaven was pleased graciously to appear for their help; and, by a train of disappointments, frustrated the designs the enemy had formed against us. Besides, by reason of the preparations making in Canada, to strike this important blow, our frontiers had quiet until the latter part of the year, when a party of the enemy fell upon Lancaster, and killed the minister*, and twenty or thirty of the inhabitants.

The beginning of the next year, 1698, the Indians surprized Andover and Haverhill, burned several houses, and killed many of the inhabitants, leading some into dreadful captivity: And the treaty of *Ryswick*, which restored peace to England and France, did not quickly deliver our frontiers from the Indian enemy. Several

* The Rev. Mr. Whiting.

veral attacks after this were made on our eastern and western borders. †

But in the close of this year 1698, after many years incessant war with the French and Savages, peace was restored to our frontiers. However its duration was short: for soon after the breaking out of queen Anne's war with France, 1703, New-England was again involved in an expensive and distressing war, which, during the course of ten years, required the utmost exertion of this people: the weight fell principally on this unfortunate colony. It grieves me to represent to you the sufferings, distresses and disappointments of this unhappy people. But, as it may remind us of our obligations to God, who has often appeared for us in seasons of peculiar distress, I shall give you a summary view of the series of calamities, which beset us, during that long war.

The first considerable onset of the Indians was on the town of Deerfield, the 1st of March.---In the dead of night the whole

† On Kittery, York, and Hatfield.

whole town was attacked, by 300 French and Indians. They flew about forty persons, and, the next morning, leaving the houses and barns in flames, they carried away about a hundred captives, among whom was the minister of the town, * a native of *this place*, with his wife and five children, leaving two children dead, and his house in flames.---The tender husband was quickly separated from his feeble spouse, and, not long after, had the affecting tidings, that, fatigued with travail, she had the hatchet of her cruel master struck into her brains.---Oh! the distress that an affectionate husband must have felt at such a relation as this!---Several expensive expeditions were undertaken, which had no great effect, unless to strike terror into the savages, and prevent their so frequent attacks on our settlements.

In 1704, the enemy were very active, and made several inroads upon our un-walled villages. Three or four hundred French and Indians came down to Lancaster,

* Rev. Mr. Williams.

caster, and burnt the meeting-house, and many-dwelling houses, and assaulted the garrisons, but were not able to take them. Many other towns in this, and a neighbouring government, † suffered by the incursions of the savages; and the country was in a perpetual alarm.

In 1705, there were no considerable devastations of the enemy. But as it was a time of war, the people on the frontiers lived in continual fear; and, if they ventured into their fields, it was in great jeopardy of their lives.

In the beginning of the next year, 1706, several hundreds marched from Canada, to fall upon the frontiers of New-England. The intelligence of this design gave a dreadful alarm through all the frontiers, the people not knowing where they would break in. Probably the enemy divided their forces; for they fell on several places nearly at the same time. During the course of this year, Dunstable, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Exeter, and divers other places, had some of their

† Almsbury, Haverhill, York, Exeter, Dover, &c

their inhabitants killed, or taken; and a party ventured down to Reading, within a few miles of our metropolis. Who can conceive the distress and anguish of a whole country, every where lying open to the cruelties of barbarous savages, aided and pushed on by our merciless neighbours the French!

In 1707, an unsuccessful expedition was formed against Port-Royal. *This Colony* sent a thousand men, which greatly increased the burden of a distressed people. Nor did this expedition at all secure our frontiers. The savages still continued their inroads, and committed many barbarous murders on the defenceless inhabitants,* and had confidence enough to venture down to Marlborough, an inland town, where they did some damage.

In 1708, the country was alarmed with advices, that the governor of Canada was collecting all the tribes of savages he could, for a powerful invasion of some part of New-England, to be commanded by
F French

* As at Exeter, Kingston, Dover, York, Berwick, Wells, Casco-Bay, &c.

French officers. Providence strangely disconcerted their plan, and great numbers of Indians gave over the enterprize. However, on the 29th of August, about 200 of the enemy fell upon Haverhill, killed the minister†, and thirty or forty persons; burnt great part of the buildings, and returned, carrying several into captivity.

Notwithstanding the Colony had been harrassed with long and perplexing wars, yet, upon an intimation from the Crown, that an expedition was designed against Canada, they chearfully raised and kept in pay, for several months, their quota of troops ‡ and transports, until advices were received, that the intended expedition was laid aside. This was an additional disappointment and misfortune to a people, already sinking under a load of debt. And, through the course of this year, the Indian ravages were continued; many places were attacked, both on the eastern and western frontiers. A large party of the enemy attacked Deerfield,

† The Rev. Mr. Rolfe.

‡ 900 men.

field, when the inhabitants were just returned from captivity. Several other places had their people picked off, by parties of Indians, dispersed all over the frontiers.

In 1710, the New-England Colonies sent four regiments to reduce Port-Royal; in which they were assisted by several of the king's ships. The design was accomplished. During the whole summer, notwithstanding the expence of the expedition to Port-Royal, the Colony was obliged to keep large parties in pay, to scour the woods and protect the outer settlements. But, notwithstanding all their diligence, the frontiers were frequently alarmed, and mischief was done in several places. Marlborough and Chelmsford were infested with the Indians, and, at the latter, a brave officer was slain.*

Nothing farther could be expected from an exhausted people, yet, perhaps encouraged by the success of the preceding year, and well knowing that they were never to expect any lasting peace and

F 2

safety,

* Major Tyng.

safety, so long as Canada was in the hands of the French; upon advice of an expedition forming against Quebec, *this Colony*, with almost unparalleled readiness and dispatch, furnished two regiments, their quota of troops, together with provisions, and joined the king's troops which arrived at Boston, on the projected expedition. The whole armament, consisting of fifteen sail of men of war, forty transports, and seven thousand troops, sailed from Boston July 30, 1711. Soon after they arrived in the river St. Lawrence, eight or nine ships were wrecked in the night upon the rocks, and a thousand of the troops perished in the waves. This dreadful blow, at once, put an end to the expedition. The navy, and regular troops returned to England, and the New-England forces returned ashamed and confounded. The disappointment and vexation was very great. The public debt was increased, and became now almost insupportable. The country was still left to the merciless ravages of French and Indians. Some pious minds gave over all hopes of ever
reducing

reducing Canada. " So many attempts
 " blasted, plainly indicated, as they con-
 " ceived, that Providence never design-
 " ed the whole northern continent of
 " America for one European power."
 And, to add still to the misfortune, it soon
 appeared, that every method was taken to
 misrepresent and abuse this loyal Colony,
 and cast all the blame of the failing of the
 expedition on us. Proper measures were
 taken to clear the Colony from this unde-
 served abuse. A journal of all the pro-
 ceedings was sent home, in which, it was
 truly asserted, that one *fifth* part of the
 inhabitants of the province, fit to bear
 arms, were in pay this summer. And
 farther, to complete their misfortunes,
 this year, the middle and best inhabited
 part of the town of Boston, was laid in
 ashes.

Early in the spring of the next year,
 1712, the savages renewed their assaults
 on the frontiers, killing and leading cap-
 tive in several places. Their incursions
 continued until 1713, when peace took
 place between the contending powers of
 Europe :

Europe: Soon after which the Indian tribes entered into a treaty, and professed themselves the very obedient faithful subjects of the Crown of Great-Britain.

We are now come to a period memorable in the annals of Europe, the peace of Utrecht. *This country* had, with very small intermissions, been in a state of war for near forty years. In those long wars the country lost five or six thousand of their bravest youths; and it was found, that in the space of fifty years, the number of inhabitants in the province had not doubled. The defence of the frontiers, and the numerous garrisons and fortifications they were obliged to maintain, together with the various expensive expeditions in which they were engaged, without any relief or compensation from the crown, “ must have occasioned such an
“ annual burden, as was not felt by any
“ other subjects of Great Britain; and
“ the merit of the people of that day
“ ought never to be forgotten.” *

From the year 1713, the land had rest for about ten years. But, in 1723, the
Indians

* Hist. Mass. vol. 2. p. 222.

Indians broke out into a war (to which they were urged by the French) that lasted about two years. During this war, the savages harraffed the frontiers, falling upon divers towns at the eastward,* killing and captivating many of the people. They also fell on the western towns, particularly Rutland, where the minister† fell a sacrifice to their rage. The English engaged the Indians in the East, with various fortune, for some time, until their success in destroying the Indian settlements at Norridgewalk, with a great part of the tribe of that name, induced the savages, in general, to treat of peace, which was established by a solemn treaty in 1725.‡ I would only add, it was during this war that Capt. Lovel, (with a company of brave men) scouring the wilderness in quest of the enemy, was drawn into an ambushment, and slain with several of his men.

From

* Scarborough, Falmouth, Berwick, Wells, Arundel, &c.

† The Rev. Mr. Willard.

‡ Commonly called Lieut. Gov. Dummer's treaty.

From the peace in 1725, the country enjoyed rest for nineteen years; until the declaration of war between England and France, in 1744; when all our frontiers were involved in the dangers and perplexities of an Indian war. Five hundred men were immediately impressed and sent to guard the exposed plantations.--- I am not able to give a minute account of the assaults and murders committed by the savages in this war; and I am ready to think, proper care was not taken to preserve the memory of those events. But many of us well remember, that several valuable settlements were deserted, and burnt; and many of our people were slain, or carried into captivity.---In 1745, the repeated attempts of the enemy upon Annapolis Royal, (which was preserved from falling into their hands, by a seasonable reinforcement of the garrison with two hundred men from this province) and the imminent danger to which our trade and fishery were exposed, roused the martial spirit of the New-England Colonies to engage in an expedition against Louisburgh,

burg, a strong fortress on the Island of Cape-Breton. The expedition was planned by the Governor of this province*, and prosecuted with the greatest ardor and bravery. Many of us remember the readiness with which thousands of our worthy inhabitants engaged themselves in that hazardous enterprize. A train of favourable, unforeseen, and even astonishing events facilitated the conquest of that important fortress. This success of the New-England arms was very important, in its consequences: It was the price that purchased the peace of Europe. Cape-Breton was the *single* equivalent for all the conquests of France in the Netherlands. But this capture cost the Colonies dear: For tho' but a few were killed in the siege, yet the sickness, that raged among the troops in garrison after the conquest, swept off many hundreds of our worthy inhabitants.

The success of the expedition against Louisburg put the ministry upon forming a plan for the total reduction of Canada. *These*

G

Colo-

* Lieut. Gen. Shirley.

Colonies lost great numbers of their best men, in the conquest and garrisoning of Louisburg; and that expedition, together with the war on the frontiers, had sunk them, especially *this* province, deep in debt. To which I may add, as a discouraging consideration; all former attempts on Canada had proved unfortunate. Nevertheless, upon an intimation of the royal pleasure, the Colonies readily engaged in the great undertaking, and even exceeded the royal requisition, in the number of troops they engaged to employ†. The troops of *this* province were seasonably prepared, and waited, with impatience, the arrival of the forces from Europe. But, unhappily for the Colonies, the design was laid aside at home, and all our expences and preparations proved, in a manner, fruitless; at least they only served to defend our own frontiers, and to protect Nova-Scotia, where our people were insidiously attacked by the French and Indians at Minas, and 160 were killed and wounded in one night. In a word, instead of a fleet and army from.

† 8200 were engaged by the Colonies.

from home to undertake the conquest of Canada, we were left to the fearful apprehensions of a powerful fleet and army, sent out from France, with orders to bombard and lay waste all our maritime towns; without any considerable force to resist them.

England was not more alarmed with the Spanish Armada, in 1588, than Boston, and the other North-American seaports were, with the arrival of this powerful armament in their neighbourhood. The fleet consisted of seventy sail, whereof fourteen were capital ships, and twenty were smaller men of war; enough, to strike terror into the bravest minds.-- Every measure for defence, that was in our power, was immediately pursued--our principal dependance from abroad, was the seasonable arrival of a British fleet; but herein our expectations were disappointed. But when our dependance upon man failed, Heaven undertook our deliverance. He, that hath all nature in his power, sent a mortal sickness into the enemy's fleet and army, and so diminished

their numbers, that they were obliged to burn several of their ships, for want of men to navigate and defend them. Their general, a Duke of France†, died suddenly, or rather laid violent hands on himself. Some of the ships were lost in a violent storm, and others taken in their return to France. So that this great Armada, which employed near half the navy of France, was in a great measure destroyed. ---We, literally, stood still and saw the salvation of God.---“ He saw that there “ was no man,---therefore his own arm “ brought salvation.”

During the short peace between the two last wars, our plantations flourished, and our settlements extended themselves farther into the wilderness. But our rest was short : We were soon called to arms. The necessity of the times required us to furnish much greater armies than ever we had done before. France, instead of conforming to articles of agreement for terminating all disputes in America, was forming the vast plan (or rather prosecuting

† Duke De Anvil.

ing a plan long since laid) of driving the English out of all North-America; at least, of subjecting this vast extent of dominion to the crown of France. For this purpose, they were building fortresses on our frontiers, imprisoning British subjects, attacking our garrisons, and were daily filling their Colonies with regular troops, in order to execute the project formed at Versailles. These perfidious transactions occasioned the last war, which was indeed begun in 1755, though not formally declared till the next year. The events of that war are yet recent in our memories--- Greater armies were led into the field; more important battles were fought; more difficult sieges were undertaken; more dreadful defeats were experienced; and in short, more glorious victories and conquests were obtained, than ever were known in this part of the world. America was more eminently the seat of war; our public affairs received an importance they never had before; not only England and France, but all Europe listened to our fate.

Two things are observable, in which the last war differed from all that New-England had been engaged in before.

The first is, that as the former Indian wars were principally confined to New-England, *our frontiers* were the only field of battle: the other provinces, in a manner, sat still, in profound tranquillity, while we were struggling hard to defend and keep possession of our country. In the last war, the interests of the several governments became blended or connected together; they were obliged to join their forces, and the cause became a common one, although it must be acknowledged, that New-England, even then, bore the burden and heat of the day.

2dly. Whereas, in all preceding wars, our eastern and western frontiers were open to the ravages of the Indians; during the last war, as we acted on the offensive and carried the war into the enemy's country, they were obliged to collect all their forces for their own defence, by which means our frontier settlements were unmolested; And, through the whole war

were,

were, in a manner, safe from fear; a quiet habitation---a happiness they never enjoyed in any preceding war with France.

The beginning of the last war was unsuccessful in America. General Braddock, at the head of two regiments, marching to remove the enemy's encroachments on the Ohio, was attacked and slain, and a dreadful slaughter made of the troops under his command. But in the latter end of the year, an army of French and Indians, under General Dieskau, was defeated by the provincial troops, and the French inhabitants were also removed from Nova-Scotia.

The next year 1756, our troops made an inactive campaign. Nothing of any great moment happened, unless the loss of the English garrison at Oswego, and with it our communication with the great lakes, or inland seas; which indeed laid all the frontiers of America open to the incursions of the enemy.

1757 was a year of fear, and of doubtful expectation: we saw every thing run counter

counter to our wishes and expectations--- a large fleet and army designed for the siege of Louisburg effected nothing. General Montcalm, at the head of an army, crossed the lakes and demolished fort William-Henry, with many circumstances of horror. The whole continent was alarmed at this success of our enemies. We were ready to fear the worst, that the enemy would improve their victory, and bring fire and sword into the interior parts of the country. The ablest men amongst us thought it a dismal day; the hearts of many melted for fear: People of the best discernment looked on our condition as very distressed.

The critical state of the American war, and the hazard the Colonies were in of being lost, roused the whole nation, and obliged Great-Britain to send over a greater number of troops, with a powerful naval armament, to carry on the war in America.

The events of the year 1758 were in general prosperous, though in some instances our enemies had the advantage.

Louisburg

Leuisburg was invested and taken, and the naval power of France was thereby greatly reduced. But the repulse of our army before Ticonderoga, with not less than two thousand men, the flower of the British troops, killed, wounded and missing, was a humbling stroke.---This defeat was in some measure repaired, by the successful expedition against Frontenac, the grand French magazine for supplying the enemy's garrisons to the westward, and the herds of savages, who, until then, were butchering the defenceless inhabitants, on the frontiers of the western and southern Colonies. Soon after, the enemy deserted their garrison on the Ohio, and the depredations of the Indians in a great measure ceased.

In 1759, our affairs opened with the greatest probability of success. The British and Provincial troops were commanded by able Generals, and the success was equal to reasonable expectation. How did our hearts leap for joy, on the arrival of the frequent messengers of our successes! This year Niagara was besieged and taken.

H

---Oswego

---Oswego preserved from a powerful attack of the enemy---a complete victory obtained over a large body of French and Indians, bending their way to raise the siege of Niagara---the lines and strong fortresses of Ticonderoga were entered with little resistance, and Crown-Point, the very key of the enemy's country, was abandoned. Towards the close of the campaign, a decisive and bloody battle was fought on the plains of Abraham, in which, the Generals of both armies were slain†. To this, succeeded the surrender of the city of Quebec, after a long siege. These successes of the British troops broke the heart and power of the French, and determined the fate of Canada.

The next year, 1760, is a glorious *Æra* for New-England, and all the American Colonies---an *Æra* our fathers longed to see. The enemy early made some feeble attempts to rescue and save their country, but all in vain.---Upon the approach of the British troops, the whole country of Canada was surrendered to the Crown of Great-

† Gen. Wolfe and Gen. Montcalm.

Great-Britain, and the entire conquest of the French in North-America was completed.---The extensive countries, which the crown of France possessed, or claimed in North-America, which in future ages, may contain many flourishing kingdoms, were, by the treaty of peace, for ever annexed to the British empire.

The last war was more interesting and important than any, that had taken place in America: It was a contending for the empire, not of New-England only, but of all North-America. *Our Fathers*, long since, predicted such an important struggle. The crown of France hurried it on, by a vigorous pursuit of the plan laid near an hundred years ago, to surround and subject to itself the Colonies of Great-Britain. Had the British and French Colonies been left to contend with one another, it is highly probable the English, by reason of their superior numbers, had carried the day. But, as France was continually pouring troops into her Colonies, and erecting impregnable fortresses in the most advantageous places, we stood in ab-

solute need of powerful aids from the mother country. The loss of her Colonies must have been of the most dreadful consequence to Great-Britain; powerful succours were therefore readily sent over, not to supersede, but to aid the utmost exertions of the Colonies. The Colonists did not take this occasion to withdraw themselves from the burden of war, but, to their utmost, yea, some of them, "beyond their ability," exerted themselves, from the beginning to the end of the war. For several years, a fifth part of the inhabitants of this province, fit to bear arms, were employed in the King's service: if I mistake not, this single province had, one year, ten thousand men employed in the service by sea and land. Though I never could find that the number of the Colonists who perished in the last wars was exactly ascertained, yet several thousands, from *this country*, must have perished, in so many years service, in so many long marches, laborious and difficult sieges, and sharp encounters; and the debt contracted in the course of the war, notwithstanding

standing parliamentary grants, is *still* a heavy burden upon the people of this province.

Since the British empire became unrivaled in North-America, New-England hath been a quiet habitation. Our most exposed villages, that have been for ages exposed to the barbarities of merciless savages, are now rejoicing in peace and safety. Our settlements are annually extending themselves into the wilderness. Our numbers by the natural increase of the inhabitants, and by accessions from foreign countries, are multiplying with great rapidity. New towns are filling up, and churches erecting.

But we are not to expect perfect felicity in the most prosperous times.---Government, in its most perfect form, is liable to mistakes; corruption creeps into the best systems. The repose of these Colonies, a few years since, was disturbed by an attempt of the mother-country to lay upon them unconstitutional taxes and burdens. The *Stamp-Act*, which, had it operated in America, would have greatly affected

fects our liberty and property, was soon declared however to be quite unconstitutional, in the face of that Parliament, who, but one year before, had passed the act; and was presently repealed. This was a strange turn in favour of American liberty.

Unhappily, I may say, unhappily both for Great-Britain and the Colonies, we see another parliamentary act put in execution, for the design of raising a *revenue*, and of fixing the jurisdiction of Parliament, in such a manner as to leave the Colonies without the power of disposing of their own property. This act is generally reckoned quite unconstitutional, and, in many respects very unfriendly to our liberties.---It cannot be concealed, that great uneasiness almost universally subsists in the Colonies, and there needs no great penetration to foresee, that the continued enforcement of this act will have very disagreeable consequences; not only with regard to our liberty and property, but as it tends to beget jealousies, suspicions, and alienation of affection, between the mother-
state

state and her children.---We bear true and faithful allegiance to our sovereign the King; we honour the dignity of Parliament; we wish for nothing more than a perpetual union with, and constitutional dependance on, the mother-country. We wish for the enlargement of our constitutional privileges, only that we may quietly enjoy those, which have always been recognized by the high court of Parliament itself. We are grieved to feel so severe marks of the royal displeasure, and, on the slightest and most trifling pretences, to be represented and actually treated as subjects meditating sedition and rebellion. Liberty, civil and religious, was the noble errand of our fathers over the Atlantic; Providence has hitherto gloriously owned the cause, and, I doubt not will still continue to support and preserve it. We trust in the righteousness of our cause, and the uprightness of our intentions, and that time will rectify all mistakes; that the extent of our liberties, and the perfection of our obedience, will be better understood, and the grounds of disquietude

tude removed.---In the mean time, let us, while we are seeking redress in every loyal and constitutional way, continue our fervent prayers, "that the Throne may
 " be established in righteousness; that we
 " may rejoice in the gladness of his nation,
 " and glory with his inheritance; lead-
 " ing quiet and peaceable lives, in all god-
 " liness and honesty." Perhaps, by the suppression of extravagance, the improvement of trades and manufactures, and by the practice of frugality and industry, what was designed to bring us to a more absolute dependence, may turn out, in its consequences, to be the greatest of blessings.

I have now led you through the most material changes and interesting events, from the beginning of our country, to this day. It is but a very general and concise view, I own; enough however has been said to show you, that we have had many enemies to encounter, and it is through many difficulties, hardships, and discouragements, we are increased, from very small
 and

and feeble beginnings, until we are become a very considerable people.

I might now call you to look back on the series of Divine Providence, and admire the power and goodness of God, in appearing so often, and in such unexpected ways, for the salvation of his people, in this wilderness.

For scores of years, with very little intermission, we have been engaged in distressing wars with the savages, and those who stimulated them up against us. The expence has been distressing, and kept us poor. The growth of our settlements has been dreadfully impeded---probably there would have been hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, in the New-England Colonies, more than there are at this day, could the country have been settled in peace. And it is impossible not to observe, that we have been commonly left alone to contend with our enemies. We have not, in our most distressed circumstances, received protection or relief from Great-Britain, except, indeed, now and then some
I ships

ships of war to guard the sea-coast*. And although we have, from the beginning, guarded our frontiers, and often engaged in heavy and expensive expeditions, to enlarge the kingdom, yet we were always left to support the burden of debt thereby laid upon us. I am not able to learn that this province has ever received any aid, in money, from the mother-country, before the reimbursement of the charges of taking Cape-Breton, in 1745. Since that time we have, I confess, received parliamentary aids; yet they have been in consideration of a debt incurred greatly beyond our proportion in the nation. Instead of royal donations, and parliamentary assistances, the truth of the matter is, that, for one hundred and twenty years, we were not only destitute of them, but in that time have met with many discouragements from home, to break the spirit of a distressed infant Colony. Our fathers had often hard measure.

This

* I would be understood to speak of the defence of our country; and the hard struggle we have had to withstand the natives, encouraged and assisted by the French.

This country was at first sought and settled as an Asylum for liberty, both civil and religious : And it is worthy of observation, that the abettors of arbitrary power, and ecclesiastical tyranny, have, all along, been the enemies of New-England. ---And we may always expect, that a government so popular and friendly to liberty as this, will always be the envy and hatred of the abettors of tyranny, in Great-Britain, as well as among ourselves.

Charles I. under the influence of Archbishop Laud, (who always kept a jealous eye over New-England, and had his emissaries here, to make representations of every thing that might set the Colonies in a bad light) endeavoured to cramp their growth, and threatened the assumption of their privileges. His son, Charles II. listened to every one disaffected to our prosperity, and began the prosecution against the Charter. James II. unjustly assumed our rights, and erected an arbitrary unconstitutional government. On the other side, if New-England has had the good-will of the Court, it has been in the reigns of the

Princes, whose names will be handed down to posterity, as the protectors and restorers of the English liberties, as WILLIAM III. and the Sovereigns of the reigning house of Hanover; which house we sincerely pray God to continue on the throne for ever.



FINIS.